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Even after the Communists consolidated
668 their hold on Southwest China, open and clandestine opposition of all kinds was reported by the new regime. Two main sources of subversion were marked as targets for destruction by the government: (1) "Counterrevolutionaries" or "basically hostile elements" -- inclusive terms embracing all social, economic, and political elements considered enemies of the socialist state. (2) Harmful activities such as corruption, waste, and theft which are reported to have caused degeneration and inefficiency in Party and government organizations, industrial
• 578 establishments, and rural co-operatives. A third source of danger to the Communist regime -- tension and discontent within the party, government, and the populace -- can be inferred as concommitants of excessive control by an extremely centralized state, though little explicit reference is made to such feelings by the regime.[2]

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2. Studies of the USSR can be helpful in understanding this subject. Cf. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.

661 and Five-Anti campaigns. Some of the cases
687 undoubtedly involved conscious attempts to defraud the government or misuse public office, but others probably arose out of unintentional errors and mistakes. It seems apparent also, that many firms and individuals were innocent victims of the Communist regime's attempt to take over private industry, tighten discipline within Party ranks, find scapegoats for the Party's errors, and establish firmer control over the people generally.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

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Public discontent and tension are invariably the result of excessive centralization of government and strict regimentation of the populace in any state. The Communist regime in China has not only regulated and restricted the people through Party, state, and mass organizations, but also has imposed on the population terror, high taxation, and extensive public obligations. Despite the attempts of the Communists to seek popular support and persuade the people to believe in a brighter future, both discontent and tension in China today cannot be overlooked or minimized.

Popular unrest is inferred in the frequency, intensity, and nature of such programs as the Suppression-of-Counter-revolutionaries Movement and the Three-Anti

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578 and Five-Anti campaigns. Other signs are
668 apparent in press references during the past few years to the deleterious effects on the health and efficiency of the people in forcing them to over-extend their energies in work or study and to sacrifice all their free time to participation in indoctrination programs and propaganda drives. Still another clue to domestic unrest may be detected in the regime's admission of popular resistance to implementation of the Marriage Law and the consequent necessity of making the reorientation of marriage and family practices a long-term and continuing task. From such evidences of restiveness in the population and from our knowledge of human reaction to excessive regimentation, the causes and pattern of public discontent and tension can be treated with some accuracy.

A. Public Discontent

1. Regimentation and Restriction.

The Communists' regimentation of the people and all their activities is a primary cause of resistance and discontent among the populace. The establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all workers into unions are notable examples of attempts to achieve complete control.

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The restrictions resulting from regimentation cause great inconvenience. However, the demand that spare-time be devoted entirely to various Party-inspired activities and duties is even more objectionable. Peasants are required to attend meetings, go to winter schools, keep advised of all farm matters, and perform various other duties depending upon the sex and age of the individual. Even how the farmer spends his money is circumscribed by Party counseling. Advise on the disposition of his excess cash is imparted by a Party member in a series of interviews heavily spiked with propaganda. The process is not only time-consuming, but also trying on the collective patience of the peasants.

City dwellers are forced to accept similar restrictions. On the job, workers are required to observe "labor discipline." They are severely punished for tardiness or for leaving the factory early. Loafing and belligerence are punishable crimes. During off-hours, workers are required to participate in all organizational and cultural activities and to attend technical and cultural classes. Participation in mass meetings, propaganda discussion groups, and urban community committees is expected. Almost no time is left for taking care of private affairs.

2. High Taxation and Public Obligation.

651/The high taxes and business restrictions

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208 have been frequent causes of public discontent. The large-scale rationing program enforced in the cities and the constant investigations conducted by public security agencies cause a great deal of anger, if not outbreaks of violence. To some extent, at least, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The regime seeks to offset disaffection by emphasizing in its propaganda the necessity and patriotism of individual sacrifice for the national welfare. If some non-vital aspect of the Communist program occasions bitter and widespread complaint, the regime bends to public opinion and institutes changes. Wherever possible, the Communists attempt to avoid the flagrant use of threats and force in approaching and controlling the public. Nevertheless, the regime has been far from successful in preventing public discontent.

B. Tension within Organizations

578 The use of various overlapping control agencies to supervise and ensure the execution of Party directive has created suspicion and tension within the control agencies themselves and the supervised state, Party,

• 578 and mass organizations. A government office or factory may be subject simultaneously to as many as four control agencies -- the control committee of the Party, the supervisory office of the administration, the People's procuratorate, and one of the public security teams. Although the immediate focus of the policing agencies may differ, the effect of the multi-control system is to press in on every organization from all sides and extend control to each member .

Tension within organizations also results from over-centralization. In any centralized and "planned" society, not only are economic decisions based on a master plan which cannot allow for the unique problems of various organizations and localities, but also all political and social policies are determined by directives originating at the head office. Pressures increase in direct proportion to the distance from the originating office; thus tension is greatest at the lowest echelon of the chain of command. Most directives emanate from the central government, are passed to the provincial governments, and then are filtered down to governments on consecutively lower levels until put into effect by the lowest political unit. In the

578 process, each level of government has a particular target in mind and exerts influence on the next lower political echelon to achieve that objective. The result is an accumulation of pressure at the base of the political pyramid.

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466 In the economic field, each factory is given a production quota, assigned through a similar chain-of-command method. To fulfill the quota, every possible means of control is resorted to. The pressure engendered is constant. Both management and labor are held directly responsible for the attainment of assigned quotas. Failure to meet them means severe penalties. Recently, the Communists have attempted to improve their system of checking on the fulfillment of production quotas in order to eliminate the practice of submitting false reports of production achievements -- a strategy attempted in an effort to gain some temporary relief from mounting pressures.

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578 Within the Party itself, pressure and tension are most intense. In the first place, the Party apparatus as the center of power and activity of the regime is subject to pressure by both the Party and the state. Secondly,

665 Party members cannot escape the endless
578 program of Party indoctrination and rectification. The dual pressures and resulting tension are in large part responsible for the high rate of expulsion and resignation from the Party. Many people who are outwardly in favor of the regime are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of former Parry members after expulsion or resignation is not known, but they are undoubtedly confined in prisons or forced labor camps for some period of time. If allowed to remain free or when released, ex-members are probably subject to security surveillance. However, they may in time form a new subversive group.

668 Tension also exists in mass organizations
578 as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and higher organizations. The broadest and also the most unstable mass organizations are the Democratic Youth Corps and the All-China Federation of Democratic Women. Lacking a common political, economic, or community base, these organizations are composed of heterogeneous social and political elements, directly or indirectly coerced into membership. These group must be handled carefully. The key to preventing tensions within an organization from

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668 expanding beyond safe limits seems to lie in
578 constant vigilance and an incessant barrage of propaganda. By instituting stricter controls and by disposing of undesirable members, the regime has sought to keep these organizations in the service of the Party.

CONCLUSION

Subversive potentialities cannot be eliminated however effective a dictatorship or tyranny may be. The forces in opposition to Communist rule in Southwest China are the victims of power, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented ex-members of the Communist Party.

The victims of Communist power -- landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and other elements which have been named by the Communists as "counterrevolutionaries" -- constitute the most threatening opposition to the current regime. Most of the former Nationalist forces have been eliminated, imprisoned, or placed under surveillance, but some of them may still remain at large. Because of past experience, any officials of the former regime still operating in the

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578 668 Southwest Region are in the best position to assume leadership over all resistance groups. Potential additions to the subversive elements in the region are present in the peasants opposed to collectivization and the "new rich" group, classed as hostile by the regime.

The operation of traditional resistance groups is manifest in the continued activities of the secret societies. Because they are attractive to illiterate peasants and laborers, the regime may find itself in the curious position of having to eliminate considerable numbers of the proletariat and peasantry, whose interests the Communists claim to protect and advance.

Too little is known of the fate and activities of the former Communist Party members in China to be able to speculate on their subversive potentialities. However, it seems certain that the chances for opposition by this group and its possible strength and cohesion will vary inversely with the success, power, and unity of the Chinese Communist Party.

Public discontent and tension within organizations in the Southwest Region are by no means indications of the impending collapse

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578 of the Communist regime. Rather, they
668 are the reactions to be expected from a controlled society under a tight dictatorship. Tension and public discontent would have to develop in intensity and proportion far beyond their current manifestations before the regime would be weakened or seriously handicapped, and the loss of Party morale and unity would have to extend far beyond its present level before the entire Communist system was threatened with disruption.

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdomanal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking then to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip E. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

CHAPTER VI

POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE INTO A RUSTIC COMMUNITY

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Conscious efforts in seeking to propagate modern medicine and health measures in the various backward countries so far run along two lines: (a) the "dictatorial method" and (b) the "democratic method". These two terms are the author's own adoption and have nothing to do with their current usages.

(a) The "Dictatorial Method".

The first method is resorted to by governments which assume the role of Dieu Protecteur and require the people to follow their instructions and legislation with a minimum of, or no, explanation at all. The Yunnan Provincial Government tried this method. A friend of the author's, Mr. Chang Tze-yi, visited Yu Hsi Hsien, Yunnan, during a time when the periodic markets failed to take place. Upon inquiry he found that the provincial health department was enforcing compulsory inoculation against typhoid and cholera, and the villagers evaded it by refusing to come to the market altogether. The Japanese authorities in Occupied China often enough have tried this method. And the British rulers in Africa have frequently required the clearing of bushes with compulsory labor or moving away whole villages in the tsetse fly area in order to exterminate the sickness of which the fly is the cause, or resorted to other measures equally drastic.

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Are such measures fruitful? Yes and no. All such efforts undoubtedly achieve some results (the authorities in question may always be able to show figures of increase in hospital beds or equipment or of the number treated). Certain sanitary measures, such as the disinfection of water sources or the clearing away of tsetse fly bushes, are best done with some exercise of governmental power, but such efforts so far have neither secured a really widespread cooperation on the part of the peoples nor taken a deep root in the indigenous cultures. The peoples on whom such measures are imposed may decide to evade them, as some Chinese have done. They may retard the intended progress so that even enthusiastic ethnographers like Professor and Mrs. Thurnwald have to admit, after over thirty years of European administration and missionary work, that:

> "Both ways, those of old Africa and of modern Europe, are tried alternatively" (Op. cit., p. 98); or again, "Although the activities may not be fully understood, the health service has shattered the influence, of the sorcerer and magician. Of course, not entirely." (Ibid., p. 98)

In Samoa, where "more than a quarter-century of continuous and persistent work with the staff and resources, made possible through the cooperation of the Navy Department (U.S.A.)," has been carried on, the results are, as we have seen in two quotations, far from satisfactory and have caused Professor Keesing to observe that,

> "The first enthusiastic assaults of the latter (modern medicine and public health measures) have made some headway, but the traditional forces, strong enough in Western society, have been little or very impermanently shaken. For the timebeing, therefore, there has been at many points a compromise.